

Message Text

SECRET

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 14, 1975

(SALT TWO - 560)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 14, 1975.

QUOTE

MR. MINISTER:

I

TODAY I WILL CONTINUE TO ELABORATE ON INDIVIDUAL PROVISIONS OF
THE DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH I TABLED ON MARCH 5, 1975. I WILL ADDRESS
A VERY IMPORTANT QUALITATIVE LIMITATION ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IN

THE DRAFT AGREEMENT, NAMELY, THE LIMITATION ON LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC

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MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. AT OUR NEXT MEETING I WILL DISCUSS

PROVISIONS TO ENSURE ADEQUATE VERIFICATION OF THE NEW AGREEMENT
BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS, INCLUDING PROVISIONS RELATED TO VERIFICA
-
TION OF THE MIRV LIMITATION.

II

QUALITATIVE LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS HAVE BEEN
SOUGHT BY OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS FOR MANY YEARS. BOTH GOVERNMENTS
HAVE, IN FACT, WORKED TOWARD THIS GOAL SINCE THE STRATEGIC ARMS
LIMITATION TALKS FIRST BEGAN IN 1969, OVER FIVE YEARS AGO. IN PAR-
TICULAR, THE LIMITATION OF MIRVS HAS BEEN GIVEN SPECIAL EMPHASIS
DURING THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS. THERE HAS BEEN A RECOGNITION OF THE
NEED TO BROADEN THE SCOPE OF LIMITATIONS ON STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS
TO INCLUDE LIMITATIONS ON MIRVS. AT VLADIVOSTOK, AN UNDERSTANDING WAS
REACHED WITH RESPECT TO THE PROBLEM OF LIMITING MIRVS. ALONG WITH AN
AGREEMENT TO LIMIT ICBM, SLBM, AND ASBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS
TO AN EQUAL AGGREGATE OF 2400, IT WAS AGREED AT VLADIVOSTOK TO LIMIT
TO 1320 THE NUMBER OF LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH
MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLES. THIS IS REFLECTED
IN PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE U.S.DRAFT WHICH IMPLEMENTS THE
AGREED MIRV LIMITATION.

III

THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING PERMITS ASBMS ON BOMBERS AS
AN ELEMENT OF THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE FORCES OF THE SIDES. THE AIDE-
MEMOIRE STIPULATES THAT SUCH MISSILES ARE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE OVERAL
L
AGGREGATE. HOWEVER, THE AIDE-MEMOIRE DOES NOT DEAL WITH MIRVS
ON ASBMS.

ASBMS, LIKE OTHER BALLISTIC MISSILES, COULD BE EQUIPPED WITH
MIRVS. THE U.S. SIDE BELIEVES THAT MIRVS FOR ASBMS SHOULD NOT
GO UNCONSTRAINED BUT SHOULD BE COUNTED WITHIN THE MIRV AGGREGATE
LIMITATION. THUS PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE U.S. DRAFT AGREEMENT

INCLUDES WITHIN THE MIRV AGGREGATE LIMITATION LAUNCHERS FOR ASBMS
EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ALONG WITH LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS AND SLBMS
EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS.

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IT WAS FURTHER AGREED AT VLADOVISTOK THAT WITHIN THE 1320
AGGREGATE
EACH SIDE WILL BE ENTITLED TO DETERMINE THE TYPES AND NUMBERS OF
LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS AND SLBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. THE U.S.
BELIEVES THAT THIS PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM-TO-MIX SHOULD EXTEND TO ALL
LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS, WHETHER ICBMS, SLBMS,
OR ASBMS. PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT EMBODIES

THIS PRINCIPLE.

I NOTE THAT ARTICLE V OF THE SOVIET DRAFT AGREEMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE, WITHIN THE 1320 AGGREGATE, LAUNCHERS FOR ASBMS EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS. ARTICLE IX OF THE SOVIET DRAFT BANS THESE SYSTEMS. AT VLADIVOSTOK THERE WAS NO UNDERSTANDING TO BAN MIRVING OF ANY PARTICULAR TYPE OF BALLISTIC MISSILE. THE U.S. VIEWS THE SOVIET POSITION AS CONTRARY TO THE INTENT OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING AND CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM-TO-MIX.

IV

PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE IV STIPULATES WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES THE LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MIRVS ARE TO BE COUNTED IN THE MIRV AGGREGATE. THE PARAGRAPH SPECIFIES WHEN NEWLY PRODUCED LAUNCHERS WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS, AND ALSO ACCOUNTS FOR LAUNCHERS UNDERGOING OVERHAUL, REPAIR, OR CONVERSION, OR IN STORAGE OR RESERVE. THESE PROVISIONS ARE THE SAME AS THOSE WHICH SPECIFY WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES THE SYSTEMS TO BE LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE OVERALL AGGREGATE. THE PROVISIONS ARE INCLUDED WITHIN THIS ARTICLE FOR THE SAME REASON THAT THEY ARE INCLUDED IN THE ARTICLE IMPLEMENTING THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION, NAMELY TO INSURE THAT A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING EXISTS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES ON THIS MATTER.

PARAGRAPH 3 OF ARTICLE IV REFERS TO THE DRAFT PROTOCOL. THIS PROTOCOL DEALS WITH THE PROBLEM OF ADEQUATELY VERIFYING COMPLIANCE WITH THE MIRV LIMITATION. THE U.S. REGARDS THIS PROTOCOL AS AN SECRET

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INTEGRAL PART OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. I WILL DISCUSS THIS MATTER FURTHER AT OUR NEXT MEETING.

V

MR. MINISTER, IN SUMMARY I WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT ARTICLE IV OF THE DRAFT AGREEMENT IS IN ACCORD WITH THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. IT IMPLEMENTS THE MIRV LIMITATION OF THAT UNDERSTANDING IN A CLEAR, PRECISE AND UNAMBIGUOUS WAY.

UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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